

April 5, 1946

Moves to beat famine

SIR JOHN ORR CALLS WORLD TALKS FOR MAY

TRESH HOPES FOR THE STARV. I ING MILLIONS IN THIS WAR-SCARRED WORLD ARE RAISED BY THE WELCOME DECISION TO CALL A CONFERENCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS FOOD MINISTERS TOGETHER WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF UNRRA AND THE COMBINED FOOD BOARD, IN WASHINGTON ON MAY 20.

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This was officially announced early this week by Sir John Boyd Orr who was elected Director-General of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) in October last.

It is the declared intention of the FAO to assume as soon as possible an overall advisory role, to co-ordinate the activities of UNRRA and the Com-bined Food Board and other international organisations concerned with food so as to grapple with the increasingly urgent problem of world famine.

Among the first aims of the Conference to be held next month will be the need to assess the present food position and the prospects for 1946-47; to decide on practical measures for assuring the most effective dis-tribution and use of available supplies; to determine measures for increasing supplies for mext winter and the winter of 1947-48; and to work out means whereby the FAO can keep the world food position under continuous

Not too soon

Although the official announcement by the Food and Agricultural Organization says that it is "getting into the international food situation" sooner than was originally anticipated, such action may even now prove too late to prevent starvation in parts of Europe, India, and elsewhere.

Meanwhile, an emergency conference in London opened at Church House, Westminster, this week to discuss the specific question of European cereal supplies. This conference was called by the British Government in order to see ordinate measures for conorder to co-ordinate measures for coping with the dire lack of food in many countries. Representatives from some seventeen European countries are in attendance, including some from ex-

The most pressing and practical problem facing this emergency conference is to alleviate distress until the next harvest is available. It is also anticipated that the London conference will make preliminary preparations for next month's world conference in Washington.

Our India mission must not let Jinnah prevent a solution

NE'S hopes of Indian independence have so often been disappointed that one touches wood, crosses one's thumbs, for the success of the new mission of Pethick-Lawrence, Cripps and Alexander. One condition seems essential to its success: that the plenipotentiaries of the British Government should say quite

clearly that, come what may, Britain intends to withdraw completely from India by a fixed date—and that in the near future.

If there is to be anarchy or civil war in India, that is not our affair. But Mr. Jinnah must be made to understand, quickly and lonce for all, that Britain no longer itends to hold the ring while he pursues his obstruction of Indian unity. He must settle, or refuse to settle, with Congress directly.

What is important is that the last vestige of the idea that the complete freedom of India depends upon a pre-vious compromise between the Hindu and Moslem political leaders should be eradicated. No doubt it would ease the problem of the transfer of power very greatly if such a compro-mise were achieved. But much the best hope of achieving it, now, is to make it quite clear that, compromise or no compromise, we shall withdraw.

Tribal Greek politics

THE Greek political kaleidoscope never ceases shifting: the reports never cease conflicting. Quite obvi-ously, the correspondents who try to impose a British-democratic-constitutional frame of reference on the turtional frame of reference on the tur-moil are falsifying, unconsciously, and with the best intentions. But the correspondent of the Manchester Guardian (Mar. 29) gives us a glimpse of the reality. His picture of "politics" in Corinth reveals a choas in which politics is an affair of vendetta, tribal leadership and fan-tastic rumour. Said the K.K.E. tastic rumour. Said the K.K.E. (Communist) leader to the corre-

spondent:
"'Seventy EAM members came down (from a near-by village) yesterday to ask my advice about abstaining, saying they had been terrorized by ten Exites ('X' organization men)—armed by you' pointing at me."

It seems quite crazy. As I read the correspondent's message I had the feeling that the Greeks in some queer fashion really enjoy this tribal pandemonium.

Why was it reckoned so certain that the Populists (Royalists) were going to win the election by a big majority? It is not because of the abstention of the Left. That is effect, not cause. The answer is to be found in Madariaga's brilliant and experienced exposition of the ineradicable mediterranean politics. the ineradicable personalism of

Welcome for M. Gouin

I AGREE, very positively, with The Tribune (Mar. 29) that not a moment should be lost by Mr. Bevin in giving welcome to M. Gouin's statement (in his speech at Strasbourg on Mar. 25) that the only two conditions on which France would in-

Observer's Commentary

sist, in regar! to the Ruhr, were interational control and a lengthy military occupation of Germany. International control, he made clear, meant an international "consortium" to exploit the resources of the Ruhr for the common benefit of Europe. Thus the de Gaulle plan for the territorial and political separation of the Ruhr is dropped: and M. Gouin has adopted the reasonable proposals put forward by M. Blum. It is imperative that we should accept them.

Unless the policy now offered by the French Social Democrats is quickly accepted by Britain, they will come under heavy fire from the chauvinist Right and the Communists, and their position will be weakened. I will not insist again on the paramount importance of Pritain dains accounting to ance of Britain doing everything to strengthen the position of the French Social Democrats. I believe that the immediate future of democracy in Western Europe depends upon it.

"Fusion"—and the Ruhr

IT looks as though M. Gouin was not speaking without his book: for shortly after it was reported that "the Cabinet is about to consider" an economic plan for the Ruhr which fits pretty closely with what M. Gouin proposes: and one would suspect that the main lines of the plan were already know to M. Gouin when he made his

speech.

French diplomacy wants to detach the Ruhr for strategic reasons. This is rejected by the British experts for political reasons. To detach the Ruhr would, it is considered, mean the virtual destruction of the Social Democratic party in Western Germany. There is every possibility that M. Gouin appreciates this argument and does not intend to press the demand that the Ruhr should be politically detached. (Observer, Mar. 31.)

What has happened, of course, is that the political developments in the

that the political developments in the Russian zone, whereby the Social-Democrats are being "pressured" into fusion with the Communists, have at once damped the British enthusiasm for a centralized administration for a united Germany and made moderate opinion in France aware of the fearful dangers of provoking a quasi-Communist Germany inspired by the idea of reconquering a separated Ruhr. But it requires a statesman of real genius to play the British hand aright, just now. Perhaps we have him, in "our Ernie." And the surprising strength of the vote of the Social Democrats against fusion should encourage him.

"Degenerate" Peace-Lovers

AM a whole-hearted supporter of the movement against military conscription in this country. But I realize that it has its dangers. should, for instance, find it hard to answer a question put to me in these terms: "Which would indicate the healthier moral condition of society today-the rejection, or the acceptance, of military conscription in peace-time?" On the whole, I think, I should answer: The rejection of it, but not with any overwhelming sense of conviction.

Nor do I think that the rejection of peace-time conscription does much to reduce the possibility of Britain being involved in war: any more than think that the rapid demobilization of the US army during the last year has reduced international friction. Just as Hitler concluded from the rejection of conscription up to 1939 by this country that "British democracy was degenerate," so now USSR concludes from the rapid demobilization of USA

that American democracy is.
Such conclusions in the minds of men who are eminently power-

Atom bomb secrets

NOW WE HALF KNOW THE **KNOW-HOW**

In the Commons on Mar. 27, Capt. Blackburn cleared up the confusion about the "know-how" of the atomic bomb, and how far Britain shares in it. He said:

ON Oct. 30 I stated that we knew all the details of the construction of an atomic bomb

made from uranium; that is the type of bomb which was dropped on Hiroshima. That is true, and was accepted by President Truman the next day. Secretary of State Byrnes of the United States of America has recently suggested that we do not know the details of the construction of any atomic

I would like to repeat what I said at the beginning. British scientists know all the details of the construction of the atomic homb made of uranium 235. We do not know—and it has been made clear by the Prime Minister's answer to a previous question—the details of the construction of an atomic homb made struction of an atomic bomb made from plutonium. The Nagasaki bomb was made from plutonium, and was, in fact, about four times as powerful as the uranium 235 bomb which was dropped in Hiroshima.

The seriousness of that is this. Of the peaceful development of atomic energy 90 per cent. is associated with the plutonium process and only 10 per cent. with the separation of uranium 235. British scientists know perfectly well how to construct a bomb made out of uranium 235. Therefore, it is not logical for the United States of America, on the ground of military security to ground of military security, to refrain from divulging to us in-formation about the plutonium process, because we know how to make a bomb made of uranium

politicians do not make for peace. On the other hand, Switzerland (which is one of the most genuinely pacific and internationally minded countries in the world) has a long tradition of compulsory military service.

Still No Conscription!

IN spite of all this, and remaining acutely aware that in opposing conscription one is in danger of pandering to civic inertia as much as one is defending liberty, I obstinately adhene to "No Conscription." Indeed, the more obstinately now that we have entered the atomic age, and military conscription, from the point of view of war itself, is an obvious anachronism anachronism.

I can conceive nothing more souldestroying than military conscription whose uselessess would be manifest to the intelligent conscript. I have no doubt whatever that it would lead to a very rapid moral and intellectual

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

LEGACIES

MANY of you will have read in the Press the announcement that Lord Arnold, who died recently, left a large sum of money for the eventual use of PPU. There is, however, a condition to the bequest and a very important one. This great gift is to be ours unless the PPU should "go out of existence" before it falls due. Naturally; and this implies the further unwritten condition that the PPU remain alive not only in the physical sense but active in the spiritual—for a gift of some £12,000 to prolong mere existence could never be justified. It is a moral condition of our acceptance; as of another gift of £500 sent to us in memory of a CO who died during the invasion of Normandy as a parachutist of the RAMC.

RAMC.

Gifts like these do not go to Headquarters' Fund or to carry on our day to day work. They are probably made as a token of esteem for Dick Sheppard or other sponsors of the Union, some of whom we are privileged to have with us still. But they do imply continued confidence in us as inheritors of a great tradition.

tion.

It is for each one of us to justify this confidence. Our work can't be done by proxy in the shape of generous testators. We must rely on our rank and file members. If these do not fail we shall continue not only to exist but to be alive to the wonderful opportunities which are offered by such legacies.

MAUD ROWNTREE CORDER CATCHPOOL, Joint Treasurers.

Contributions to Headquarters Fund since Mar. 22: £2 19s. 6d. Year's total to date: £158 10s. 11d.

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contribution towards the alleviation of distress in Europe.

"The discussion at the conference of representatives from the Government Departments concerned, however, revealed that the practical difficulties involved in carrying out the proposals were indeed formidable.

"The conclusion which the Government have reached about the scheme will. I know, be very disappointing to those by whom it has been sponsored, but I do not think that this country can be accused of not playing its full part in the relief of distress in Europe."

Government "No" to air rescue plan for German children

British zone of Germany are " as well fed as the children in many countries in Europe," is claimed by the Home Secretary, Mr. Chuter Ede, in a letter rejecting the scheme to bring 10,000 children by air to this country from Germany and Central

The scheme, put forward by Air Vice-Marshal H. V. Champion de Crespigny, has been before the Crespigny, has been before the Government for several months, and on one occasion was favourably com-

mented upon by the Prime Minister.

"Charren have undoubtedly been among the most tragic victims of the war," writes Mr. Ede to the Air Vice-Marshal. "Their plight not only in Germany but also in every other country in Europe, naturally makes a strong appeal to the sympathy and traditional feelings of hospitality of

THAT the children within the the people of this country. We are already looking after a number of Dutch children here and may receive in all some 19,000 children from the Netherlands. We have welcomed here a limited number of children from German concentration camps. Despite these prior obligations, how ever, I felt that your proposals should be examined on their merits as an act of humanity on the part of this country which would make a further contribution towards the alleviation

PEACE NEWS

3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4. Stamford Hill 2262 All correspondence on other than editorial matters should be addressed to the Manager

An Alternative to Communism

addition to the actual satellite countries—Poland, Roumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia—Hungary is controlled by the Countries of Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia—Hungary is controlled by the Communists (Observer), Italy probably will be (Sunday Times), and—unless very serious efforts are made to prevent it—Germany also will be. These are all sober and reasoned estimates of probability. Add to them the very real grip that the Communists have on France, and it will be manifest that the situation is pretty desperate.

"Another year like the last," says The Observer sadly, "another few steps in the course we began at Potsdam, and we shall find ourselves faced by a united, Communist, hostile and vindictive Germany, closely linked to a suspicious and perhaps unfriendly Russia."

"Is that what we fought the war to achieve?" the writer glumly asks.

Probably not. But, from the beginning of the war, we pointed out that it would achieve the opposite of its rance, and it will be manifest

it would achieve the opposite of its conscious intentions. Emotionally, it was felt to be a war of nationalisms. This was the actual dynamic of the process of the destruction of Europe, as it was experienced by the contending forces. But that was, in the last analysis, illusion. The war was a vast explosion of the suppressed forces of production: a vast employ-ment of the unemployed in the only way capitalist and nationalist civilization permits them to be employed. When that explosion was over and the débris had come to rest, an epoch of European civilization was over.

Now the new one has begun. Its essential and necessary characteristics are crudely and plainly marked: Capitalism and Nationalism are destroyed. They are being replaced, with a rapidity which seems astonish-ing only to those who have never troubled to understand what the war really was, by a system which consciously aims at the annihilation of Capitalism and Nationalism. That is

Communism.

It is to sweep back the ocean with

BY putting the opinions of The a broom to oppose it by force. If that observer and the Sunday Times folly once gets into men's hands, we together, we reach the result that, in shall be in an atomic war before we have rebuilt one-tenth of the ruin created by the pre-atomic war. There is only one way to oppose Communism that will not lead to sheer disaster. That is to improve upon it: by creating a system that is equally anti-capitalist, equally super-national; yet is not totalitarian.

That is not easy, but the end is worth all the effort that is involved.

But one thing is certain: the effort will come to nothing if there is peacetime military conscription. First, because that drain on the energies of the nation will make social reconstruction impossible. Second, because the only war that is henceforward possible. in Europe is a war with Communism, or the Communist bloc. Only muddled heads can imagine that it is possible at one and the same time to struggle to surpass Communism con-structively and prepare to fight it destructively

Now is the moment, therefore, for this country to renounce war, and to show that she means it, by reducing her armed forces to what is necessary for police purposes alone. There should be, within a year from now, a reduction of the armed forces of this reduction of the armed forces of this country to what can be voluntarily recruited. The danger is muzziness—muzziness in the guise of UNO idealism. There are, and can be no obligations under UNO which require military conscription. If there appear to be, it merely proves that UNO is kaput. Probably it is. That doesn't matter a hoot in itself. The somer the illusion of UNO disappears sooner the illusion of UNO disappears the better. The danger is that its ghost will be used to justify military conscription.

It is even more fatal to dream of resisting Communism by force of arms than Fascism. Europe can be regained from Communism only by peaceful methods of alternative recon-

"Time will repay us"

STUART MORRIS recalls Arthur Ponsonby's own epitaph

that we have been denied the value of his counsel and the encouragement of his presence for the past two years or more, the news of his death brings a very real sense of loss. The PPU and the WRI owe more to him than is often realized or could easily be expressed.

Others will write of his distinguished career in the field of diplomacy and politics, or will remember him as an author and leading English authority on diaries. We would pay tribute to the rebel who broke away from Foreign Office conventions and party allegiances at the dictates of a party allegiances at the dictates of a conscience which never let him put any question of career before his concern for others and his larger loyalty to the cause of peace.

But, if he was a rebel, he never forgot what was owed to the past. The attention he bestowed on Shulbrede Priory and his love for it, the fascination which diaries had for him, both witness to that. He refused to be bound by the traditional orthodoxy of the present, so that he could preserve the best of the past for the enrichment of the future.

"In that future," as he wrote, "peopled by our successors may we not see, instead of

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The longer I live the more I value The longer I live the more I value toleration as being of the essence of civilization and the foundation of democracy. Toleration does not mean that one should not hold one's own views strongly. I have not myself very much use for Laodiceans. It certainly does not mean that one should be tolerant of evil, or cruelty, injustice, and oppression, but it does mean that one should recognize that truth has many facets and that no one of us can see them all, and that one should respect the right of other should respect the right of other people to their own opinions.

—Mr. Clement Attlee at Free Church Congress, March, 1946.

A LTHOUGH Arthur Ponson-by's serious illness meant everlasting sunshine, the same grand beauties of storm and calm, the same contrasts of the darkening skies of winter and the brilliant everlasting sunshine, the same grand beauties of storm and calm, the same contrasts of the darkening skies of winter and the brilliant gleams of spring; instead of the ultimate quiescence of an incomprehensible Zion or othe raging clash and barbarous turmoil of internecine and fratricidal violence, may we not see a stimulating conflict between contending but noble ideals? May we not imagine a future where love is gaining ground, where man's physical frailties and sufferings are reduced, where his intelligence has increased, where his spiritual nature has developed, and where his willing labour is fruitful?"

Thus he was in the direct line of

Thus he was in the direct line of the true prophets who have been great in the sincerity of their lives and the forthrightness of their message.

Thirty years' struggle

Arthur Ponsonby attacked evils of war for over thirty years, and his "Peace Letter" was even more successful in Germany than here, before the Peace Pledge Union was ever thought of. His pacifism made him one of Dick Sheppard's closest advisers and staunchest supporters in the early days of our Move-ment. At meetings of the Sponsors, at large public gatherings up and down the country, bearing his witness in the House of Lords, Arthur seemed to rejoice in the opportunity which the PPU gave him to express what was so deeply a part of his very being and in return he gave generously of his experience, his time and his gifts. One of the very last public appearances he made was at Friends' House at a Dick Sheppard Anniversary gather-

BUT some of us had the privilege, not only of sharing his enthusiasms, but of being his friend-and it is not so easy to write of the things of the heart. What a grand man this rebel was! His courage, his integrity, his sincerity and passion for truth made him a great man. His simple way of life, his kindliness, his loyalty made him a wonderful friend. Let his envoi be sung in his own

Let his envoi be sung in his own words:

"As we look back on our brief sojurn on this planet it should not appear to us as meaningless. We should not end the journey baffled by our fruitless yearnings, depressed by a sense of frustration and failure or buoyed up by precariously uncertain hopes of consolation just for ourselves. There can be no certainty anywhere in the pursuit we all have to make of a path in the mists of human life except perhaps that no man can say he has found the right road or has discovered a smooth, easy and direct course to follow. But if we have dominated the Time presented to us. Time will repay us as a ready servant, and life will not seem meaningless..." We are the posterity of past generations and they have done everything for us on which we can hase the whole work of our lives. Surely, therefore, it is up to us to carry forward the torch which has been handed to us and press forward so as to pass it on fully flaming to those ready to receive it when we drop."

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Marxian mysticism

THINK the irrationality of Stalin saying Britain was not a democracy because Churchill was excluded racy because Churchill was excluded from power contains a grain of psychological truth that Observer missed. True, if Mr. Koestler is right, all the Russian opposition is in concentration camps but even so, the Russian soul at its best as well as at its worst seems to demand a more mysti-

worst seems to demand a more mystical conception of democracy than the Western inheritance of Roman legality has yet provided.

National Socialism was the nemesis for 19th tentury materialistic theories on heredity as communism is for similar ones on environment. Man can win his freedom from these but only by Christian spiritual effort. This is what the great Russian writers heralded and what Solonieft and Rudolf Steiner (in "The Theory of Knowledge Implicit in Goethe's World Conception) established.

The West introduced materialism with its

"The Theory of Knowledge Implicit in Goethe's World Conception) established.

The West introduced materialism with its one-sided science; the only hope now lies in restoring the balance. There is no opposition between Christian democracy and Christian communism; the opposition is between materialist democracy and materialist communism. The key to this lies in the confusion of thought regarding human freedom inherent in Maxist and orthodox economics and sociology.

K. H. PRIDE

K. H. PRIDE. Spatchley, Nr. Worcester,

Social conscience

When Fredrick Lohr writes that "For the first time in history, war is publicly acknowledged to be a crime," he finishes his sentence

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six words too short. He should have added:
on the part of the defeated—which makes all
the difference. Does Mr. Lohr really regard
that as progress in "Social Conscience"? To
me it looks like regress to the bottommost
depths of cant, humbug and hypocrisy. Why
spin so much wordy dialectic in developing
so transparently false a premise?

DION BYNGHAM.

"Pine Hoath." Beckley.

" Pine Hoath," Beckley, Near Rye, Sussex.

No place in UNO

Mr. Wilkie rightly says (PN, Mar. 22) that the power of UNO would be based on force alone and that therefore little trust can be put in it to prevent war.

How many people realise what a farce the composition of UNO is? It we take the continent of Europe, which contains the largest number of civilized States, we see that Switzerland, Sweden, Eire, Spain and Portugal are excluded as not being "peace-loving nations"—because they did not engage in this last

LETTERS

world war. Moreover, Italy and the vast country of Germany are excluded. That is to say that over two-thirds of the most cultured and civilized people in Europe are to obey the dictates of three great powers, 16 South American states and the Eastern, the most primitive, part of Europe? Can any sane man put truth in such an organisation as holding out any hope for the future?

(Dr.) R. A. PARSONS.

Highfield, Kirky-in-Furness,
Lancashire.

Workers and wages

Observer is misleading when he writes that, if the agricultural labourer had his week's wages raised to £4 10s, he would still be getting a good deal less than does the miner for working 3½ days. As the average wage of miners in this country (that is, of all employed underground) is between £5 and £6 per week, I fail to see how he arrived at this calculation, unless he considers only those earning top figures. Perhaps he wrote it in the heat of the moment instead of a good fire.

good fire.

I do indeed agree with him when he writes of the "gross inequity in the treatment of workers in basic industries . . . "There is simply no comparison; ask any former agricultural worker who now has to work in a mine. He will tell you a collier's job is worth at least £10 per week just to put his foot inside the cage. ALASTAIR McMANUS.

4 Cumberland Road, Leeds, 6.

Soil and chemicals

Some of my colleagues at East Malling Research Station have now read Harold Bing's PN pamphlet, "Man and the Soil." The remarks about the effect of "chemicals" on the soil are, to put it mildly, very one-sided.

One would never guess from the pamphlet that almost without exception trained agricultural research workers are opposed to these views. Readers should know that there is another side.

In "Chemicals, Humus and the Land" (Faber), recently published, D. P. Hopkins, a chemist, does his best to give a fair and balanced view of the known facts, and to disentangle them from a very large amount of guesswork.

of guesswork.

I hope you will give readers some idea that there is a widely-held view very different from that expressed in the pamphlet.

NORMAN H. GRUBB.

"Lea Yett," Rectory Lane, Leybourne, West Malling, Kent.

A time for integrity

A time for integrity

It is hardly to be expected that those who believe that the only answer to force is force will renounce war on a basis of being afraid of using the atom bomb. Even if they did there would come a time when that fear would be overcome and the bomh used.

There is no moral basis on which to condemn Russia so long as this nation pursues power politics. That does not mean that the pacifist must align himself with the communist in giving way to Russia, but condemn ourselves equally with her, and to shew that the only realistic action in the present situation is the idealistic one.

Whether this would have any effect we do not know but we do know that anything less will not produce the desired result. It is obvious that so long as we believe in power politics the more ruthless power-politics of Stalin will appear reasonable to the ordinary Russian. Only by our renunciation of power on moral grounds is that attitude likely to be changed. Are pacifist big enough to "put it over"?

HENRY HILDITCH.
23 Tixall Road, Birmingham, 28.

Threat of conscription

In the face of the threat of peace-time conscription for boys of 18 often straight from school and being shipped overseas with inordinate haste, it is difficult to understand the apathy of silence of your excellent newsheet, and the indifference of the many thousand COs.

Any meeting on the subject is largely middle-aged or elderly, and it looks as though the consciences of those concerned was not that of the mind and soul, so much as the skin! One would have thought that conscription campaigns would be in full swing all over the country with the young COs speaking up for the boys who are unable to do so themselves.

up for the boys wno are unable to themselves.

There are many aspects of militarism that were accepted when the country was in peril but which ought not to prevail now. We are not prepared to see our boys sent out to fight and suppress "native" peoples struggling to be free. It is high time the whole pacifist movement became alive to the issue.

B. A. COLLINS.

B. A. COLLINS.

30 Beaconsfield Road, Birmingham, 12.

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HERE in Aachen (writes a member of the FAU) we have discovered something unique in the experience of our relief teams in Germany-the remnant of a pacifist movement. Of course, the Society of Friends in Germany still maintains its pacifist witness, and FAU members eagerly sought out and made contact with German Friends: but this was an independent "political" organization, with pre-war associations with the War-Resisters' International. Several of the FAU team went along to the initial gatherings and were able to distribute WRI and PPU literature.

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One thing they have discovered is that the large majority of Germans still believe that there are no pacifists in England at all; German pacifists feel alone and helpless. To conquer this propaganda-instilled sense of isolation is perhaps the most important task for the FAU section in Aachen in Aachen.

One member of this pacifist group is keen to start a pacifist newspaper and is translating some of the WRI and PPU pamphlets in the conviction that there is a very real enthusiasm for the ideas expressed in them among the people of Aachen. It may be that in the long run the encouragement given to the re-born movement will prove of more importance than the immediate business of feeding-centres and youth-clubs. It is indeed heartening to find that twelve years of Hitlerism have not been able to destroy the spirit of internationalism in at least one German city.

THE OPEN RESISTER

- Death of Von Galen

CARDINAL VON GALEN, Archbishop of Munster, who through-out the Nazi reign of Germany remained an open and fearless opponent of oppression has died at the age of 68. During the war he was the leader of almost the only open resistance to Nazism.

ance to Nazism.

"Every time Hitler made a speech," says the Catholic Herald, "the Archbishop would send him a telegram commenting on it and indicating just where and how it diverged from Christian doctrine. He published these telegrams. Once after he had sternly admonished the Nazis for their treatment of women and children, a Nazi called out in church asking what he, a celibate, knew of either. The Bishop looked down at him and demanded to know why he dared criticise the Fuehrer in public."

In July, 1942, he preached a sermon which yas a flat condemnation of Gestapo methods. was a flat condemnation of Gestapo methods.

"The right to life, the right to inviolability and to liberty is an indispensible part of every moral social order. The State has, of course, the authority to restrict the rights of its citizens by way of punishment; but the State has this authority only so far as law-breakers are concerned, whose guilt must be established by an impartial court of justice.

I cry aloud: We demand justice. If this cry remains unheard and unheeded, our German nation and country will, despite the heroism of our soldiers and their glorious victories, perish from inner corruption."

Pioneers in Paraguay

Brothers, with their 360 men, women and children, in Primavera, Alto-Paraguay, has been attended by all the austerity and arduousness, accompanies pioneering in a primitive and undeveloped country. But in the five years since the first groups began to settle there, the progress has been impressive.

Anyone visiting the two Bruder-hoefe—the one at Isla Margarita and the other at Loma Jhoby—for the first ime, would find it hard to realize that here where there now stand busy workshops, schools, dwelling houses and a hospital as well as cowstalls, gardens, vineyards and orange groves, there was, only a few years ago, a vast waste of wild and uncultivated grassland and forest. When the community first arrived, all that was there to mark the encroachment of man into this realm, where nature held rampant and undisputed sway, was an old dilapidated house, an over-grown kitchen garden, a few outhouses and a few rough cart-tracks through the entangled forests.

Immense problems

THE problems which confronted the community, therefore, on their arrival early in 1941, were immense, especially many were women ren. These were lodged in some children. of the neighbouring villages, and the men set to work to provide some rough dwellings. Four great grass roofs were erected on hard-wood pillars and these, with no more substantial walls than cloth curtains and sacking to protect the people from the cold night breezes and torrential storms, were to be the only accommodation for the whole community for many months. This unaccustomed ex-posure undoubtedly accounted for much of the disease and sickness that assailed the members of the community-especially the children-during the early months.

Buildings, however, were not the only immediate necessity. The problem of daily nourishment and future maintenace became acute. The struggle for the barest necessities of life, became a grim reality. Under these compelling circumstances the land was ploughed and planted, trees were felled, workshops built and machinery installed.

Results revealed

As the years have passed the results of these strenuous efforts have steadily revealed themselves. Though several families are still living in primitive wooden huts with corrugated iron roofs or in mud houses, many attractive dwelling houses as well as schools, kindergarten and nursery buildings, have been built of bricks, made in the community's brick-works. A hospital of 12 beds, served by three doctors, a chemist and several nurses, has been established on a beautiful site on a hill. The hospital provides a much needed

THE settlement of the Society of medical service for a wide area as well

as for the community itself.
Extensive areas of land are under ultivation, where mandioca Paraguayan substitute for potatoes), maize, pea-nuts, sugar-cane, soya beans, fruits and many other products are grown. The United States Agri-cultural Commission in Paraguay has been so impressed by the quality of the gardening that they have elected to use 20 acres of this land as their experimental seed-production station, with one of the Brotherhood members in charge. In the workshops steamengines provide electrical power to drive the machinery, mechanical sa is for cutting the big tree trunks into planks, planers, band-saws and woodturning lathes, and also to supply all the houses with electric light.

A house has also been rented in Asuncion, the capital of Paraguay, to provide a home for the young people of the community, who are outside learning a trade or profession.

THE same faith in the life of which has maintained the community in the bond of unity and in the life of common property and common work during these hard years, has also prompted the sending out of brothers to the neighbouring countries as well as Paraguay itself to bear witness to a new order amongst men. Journeys, lasting many months, have been made to Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Chile for the purpose of making known to men the fact of such a life.

War orphans

Owing to the serious conditions prevailing, especially among children, in the war-stricken areas of Europe, the Brotherhood in Paraguay has adopted a scheme for the guardianship and education of 30 war orphans from the Continent and intends later to increasing this number to 60. A Children's Village is already being established for this purpose and two brothers from Paraguay are now in England to negotiate the arrangements for the selection and transport of these children. They will be in the charge of Brotherhood teachers and educators until at the age of about fifteen or sixteen, they will be given the opportunity of going outside to learn a trade or profession, to enable them to fend for themselves in the world. Then it will be for them to choose, of their own free will, whether they wish to become members of the Brother-hood or seek their own separate careers.

When the children have been chosen they will be assembled at the Wheathill Bruderhof, which is working in this, as in all other matters, in the closest co-operation with the Bruderhoefe in Paraguay. Then they will be transported, as soon as circumstances permit, to South America.

C. G. D. EVANS

*Practical helpers are needed for this scheme and the Brotherhood would be glad to hear from them at Bromdon Farm, Burwarton, Bridgnorth, Shropshire.

April 5, 1946, PEACE NEWS-3

APPEAL FROM THE EMPIRE

Herrenvolk in South Africa

A DECLARATION to the nations of the world, issued by the Non-European Unit Committee of South Africa on behalf of "eight million non-Europeans of the Union of South Africa" (published here as a leaflet) argues that there can be no real peace when tyranny is eliminated in one continent but left undisturbed in another.

another.

"Nazi Germany is the classic example of systematic propaganda hased on race. No less classic, although less known to the outside world, is the case of South Africa. From earliest childhood the poisonous racial arrogance of the Herrenvolk ideology is assiduously injected into the white people of this country by school and church and state. And it is a tragic fact that even those who might have been expected to display more fellowship towards the non-Europeans as a natural ally, namely the Labour Party and the Trade Unions, are no less contaminated by the Herrenvolk mentality. While they may speak abroad of equality for all and opportunity for all, they do not for a moment include the non-Europeans."

"We are a peace-loving people," says the declaration. "We have no enmity or malice towards the Europeans.... Yet we can only live side by side with them in peace and harmony as equals, and not as inferiors."

The declaration, which is signed by Rev. Z. R. Mahabane, Dr. G. H. Gool, and E. C. Roberts, BA, lists "ten fundamental human rights" which should be applied in the Union, including the franchise, the basic freedoms, and revision of the Criminal Code, land tenure, system of taxation and labour legislation.

Pioneers in dockland

Tiger Bay. A Phoenix Pamphlet. Illus. 6d. Fourteen nationalities, multi-coloured and polyglot, segregated from their white townsfolk by racial prejudice and lower living standards, divided within by varying attitudes towards British civilization, sometimes Communists, perhaps Mohammedan, often totally absorbed in the mere struggle to exist—such a microcosm of the Empire is to be found in the Cardiff dockland colony of Tiger Bay.

There for the last three years a small number of pioneers have shared the life and gained the confidence of the native population. Not only have they given all kinds of practical help to their neighbours, caring for children and befriending their parents; among a people who had felt alien and outcast they have inspired a consciousness of being a fellowship within a wider community. These pacifists have tested the practicability of international friendship in a most unpromising social context. This account of their efforts is a sharp challenge to those who are seeking to make of our ideals the facts and customs of ordinary F. S.

CONVICT 99.8

"Creative ability is not easily stifled even by segregation in a federal prison," comments Fellowship, the US FoR journal on a report that Malcolm Parker (a CO in Sandstone prison) has constructed a slide rule—without the aid of a ruler—that has an accuracy of about 99.8 per cent.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

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When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date. We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the fre-quency of continuing advertisements

MEETINGS, &c.

CARDIFF, F.M.H., every Tues., 7.15 p.m., "Current Problems in Economics"—a new series of lectures by Walter Birmingham, P.P.U. LONDON, N.W.1, Canteen-lounge at Friends Hse., Euston Rd., Mon., April 8, 7.15 p.m., "Revolutionary Social Techniques," Harold Chance, American Friends Service Cttee. Refreshments will be provided between 5.30-7 p.m., Kenneth Woodroofe will be in the chair. Collections, Phoenix Mtg.

ACCOMMODATION

CAN ANYONE offer fellow pacifist (man) bedsttg. rm. or flat, London to Uxbridge dist. Box 351.
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YOU WILL find true Friendship in the L. and H. C. C. Club. Partics. From Sec., 39 Reighton Rd., London. E.5. S.a.e.

TENDAMICS BILY the house your strength of the congent of the co

CUMBERLAND COAST. A few was a constant of the following th

Britain could be society of peace

OBSERVER' CONTINUED

degeneration of the nation's manhood. And this reply to those who charge us No Conscriptionists with pandering to civic inertia seems to me completely convincing.

To those who say: Are we then to let the Red Army have its way? reply, not without hesitation. Yes. am under no illusions about the Red Army. I have deliberately suppressed far more damning evidence about it than I have ever printed: and I have mo high opinion of those who laud it to the skies while denigrating the German Army. But I am convinced that if Russia is going to behave tyranically, the only thing to do is to submit. I cannot prove that a colossal military State must perish by its own internal backwardness. But I am sure it is true

Respect and Force

BUT I am agonisingly conscious that it is a choice of evils. And I am not at all convinced that I should be able to retain my long-term de-tachment if I were an Austrian or a German of the Eastern provinces, perhaps even less if I were a Chinese. But if I were once consciously to subscribe to the doctrine that the only thing USSR respects is force, I should be lost for ever and feel that I had given "mine eternal jewel unto the common enemy of man."

It may indeed be that the only thing the USSR respects is force. If that is so-I must reply-so much the worse in the long run for USSR. I do not want to win the respect of the USSR by force. Nay more, I do not think it possible. Where is the decisive force at this present moment? Indubitably with USA which possesses the atom-bomb. Does Russia respect USA because of it? I see no evidence of it. Does anybody ever respect force? Sometimes they respect justice which has force behind it: but that is a different matter.

New worship of violence

NEVERTHELESS, I do feel that something which is mistaken for respect of force—namely, the worship of violence—is sweeping over the world. Much of the old, deep-seated moral horror of successful violence has disappeared. In the modern political scene says George Orwell:

"Such things as mass-bombing of civilians, the use of hostages, torture to obtain confessions, secret prisons, execution without trial, floggings with rubber truncheons, drowning in cesspools, systematic falsification of records and statistics, treachery, bribery and quis-

PPU SUMMER SCHOOL

The PPU Summer School this year will be held at Bournemouth, from Aug. 31 to Sept. 7. Please apply to: John Barclay, 64 Ellerton Roal, London, S.W.18, who reports that applications are already coming in well.

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lingism are normal and morally neutral, even admirable when done in a large and bold way."

This horror I do not know how to

withstand: and when I try to take it fully into my consciousness I am sometimes a prey to the forlorn feeling that as a pacifist-even as a pacifist who tries hard to be honest—I am living in a dream world. But one cannot just wait for the atom-bombs to drop. One has to do something, advocate something, believe in some-I believe in advocating that thing. we should try to make Britain a society of peace and fulfilment, and in doing something about it. In that pattern No Conscription belongs.

PPU Council Report

NO CHANGE IN **PLEDGE AGREED**

AST week's meeting of PPU National Council, the last over which Dr. Alex Wood was to preside, recorded unanimously its "high appreciation of his work as Chairman and its thanks to him for his untiring patience and good humour throughout his years of office. The members desire to express their deep affection for him, and their hope that he may continue to serve the Movement and Council for many years in completely restored health."

AFTER a discussion on relations Resolution was carried by 16 to 15:
"With a view to giving the PPU more direct control of Peace News, this Council desires to have the same relationship with Peace News, Ltd., as with Housman's, Ltd., It therefore asks Peace News, Ltd., to make the same arrangement for the transfer of its members' shares as the members of Housman's, Ltd., have made."

The report of the Basis of Membership Committee was discussed and it was resolved with two dissentients that-

"The National Council recommends that no change should be made in the wording of the Pledge, but urges members to study the implications of the Pledge in social and international affairs." In view of the impending retirement

of Dr. Wood, the status of the Chair-manship of the Union was considered and Council agreed by 14 votes to 5

"As from the 10th Annual General Meeting (1947) the elected Chairman should serve for a period of not more than three years as Chairman of AGM Council and Executive."

After Dr. Alex Wood had paid tribute to Lord Ponsonby's work for peace in general and for the Union in particular, Council stood in silence as a mark of respect.

The amended version of the draft statement of the Immediate Issues Committee to be discussed at the AGM has already been circulated to groups, but it is hoped to publish the amendments in Peace News next week.

PPU Easter Youth Conference

PPU Easter Youth Conference will be held at Sherwood School, Epsom, Surrey, from Thursday evening to Monday afternoon, April 18-22. The charge for the weekend is £2, but this

charge for the weekend is £2, but this can be reduced where necessary.

The subject will be "The possibility of world friendship," and the speakers:—Mademoiselle Jeanne Chaton (France), Albert Tomlinson (Greece and Italy), Wenzel Jaksch (Germany), Patrick Figgis. There are a few places still to be filled: apply at once to Patrick Figgis, at 6. apply at once to Patrick Figgis, at 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

" World Government—How?"

SIX MPs took part in an all-party Brains Trust held by Federal Union in London last week. The meeting was the best attended yet held

by Federal Union this year.
With the discovery of the atomic bomb it was vital to federate, said Vernon Bartlett, question-master. Federation had succeeded in US, Australia, South Africa and Switzerland. It was not as alarming as many

thought.

On the attitude of Russia to federation, Mr.

W. Gallacher said that she desired unity of the peoples of Europe. But where was the hasis for unity? Between the world wars the only groupings of European States were hostile to the Soviet Union.

There was not time to approach world federation other than through UNO, said W/Cmdr. Millington. That machinery existed and must be used ungently and directly.

W/Cmar. Millington. That mannery existed and must be used urgently and directly.

Sqn/Ldr. Roberts, speaking on a question about an international language, said he did not think it was necessary. Language need be no barrier to world federation.

All power tor One world

— U.S. CORRESPONDENT'S THREE CONDITIONS

A TOMIC power can be harnessed for the good of all only when we see it as a community of power for one world, one family of peoples.

To travel on this road of courage in developing atomic power (in fact all power) we must accept at least three indispensable conditions.

1. Truth. The secret of the atomic nations and all peoples, whether for not they have been admitted to the "peace loving" club. The complete promulgation of this secret is absolutely necessary, because the discovery of the atomic bomb is the discovery of the release of atomic mower. The the release of atomic power. The "cracking" of this secret might be a factor which would help overcome international rivalries, suspicion and hate by giving the same opportunities for social betterment to all peoples.

Federal World Government. Atomic power can be safe only in a federated world under law. The present forms of national sovereignties must cease as instruments of national policy. "Face" (we too have tried to save our face in Japan) must give way to that dignity and honour which is shared by all, not maintained in pharisaical smugness Politicians who work only for special interests (be they national, state or local) must defer to statesmen with a world view.

3. Co-operative Exchange. peoples need the help of all other peoples need the help of all other peoples and even the most destitute have much to offer the "richest nation in the world." Europe, China, Japan and India need to be fed and clothed. America should ration herself to meet this human emergency. We could, with the course breath of understand with the same breath of understanding, offer the services of our experts and other workers wherever they are needed in devastated areas to work against hunger cold and disease. In return we could ask these people for some of our non-material needs. This would not only help us but give our benefactors a nearer sense of belonging to other peoples as equals. Some Japanese, for instance, might come to our country and teach us the meaning their art and their unique poetry (Haiku); while some Russians might come to us and tell us about their pioneer steps in elementary education and the natural sciences.

FRANCIS BENN RIGGS.

Cambridge, Mass.

P.S.U. in Birmingham

In Birmingham on Mar. 22, when the leaders of Manchester and Liver-pool Pacifist Service Units spoke on "Problem Families" and PSU's experimental work with them, pacifists in the audience were well outnumbered by social workers and others.

The chairman, Charles Garland, Birmingham's Chief Probation Officer, said that every social worker was aware of the great need for new ways of helping the problem families, and PSU's demonstration was a valuable one.

Much interest was shown in the improved Exhibition which shows graphically the nature of the problem and the lines on which it can be remedied.

PSU is planning to continue its problem family work on a wider basis, and this meeting was part of a scheme to develop public knowledge of the work and to obtain the increased support which will be necessary to overcome staffing problems in the difficult transitional period.

THE ROUTE TO WAR

Mr. Victor Gollancz, speaking at a Manchester Publicity Club luncheon, said there was only one route to war, though many names might be used to describe it—lust for power, greed, selfishness. The qualities required to divert the world from war were know-ledge, a sense of proportion, altruism and charity. -Manchester Guardian, March 16.

THE WAY OUT

The Central Board for COs is trying to include in its forthcoming pamphlet The Release of COs 3d., 4d. post free from the CBCO. 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.I., details of how the Act is likely to work, but this may mean a slight delay in publication.

THE CAPTAIN AND THE ATOM BOMB

THE Court Martial of a 26-year-old Captain in the RAMC who had refused orders after the use of the atom bomb aroused great public interest last week.

The officer was Herbert John Hambling, who was described by a senior officer, Lt.-Col. H. A. Hayes, of the R.A. as "an extraordinarily efficient medical officer."

In 1939, as a medical student, he had considered abandoning his career as a doctor because his pacifist principles made it impossible for him to think of becoming a soldier. Finally, when he qualified he joined the RAMC. His pacifism had "become a bit wobbly." "My religious convictions," he told the Court, "were pacifist, but I was in full sympathy with the aims of the war, though I could not support the actual methods armed warfare.

He returned from Service in Italy last December "appalled by the savage massacre done in the Allied name in Germany by bombing, and with the advent of the atomic bomb I felt that was contrary to my religious beliefs.

"I think it is immoral to support a security system which might have as one of its instruments a thing of horror which would result in wholesale slaughter."

"I realized that, having joined the RAMC, if my conscience did revolt I would have to face the consequences, which I am now doing.'

The Deputy Judge Advocate General read from letters which Capt. Hambling had sent to the authorities, in one of which he wrote:

"I cannot in conscience accept further service in any capacity in a military organization committed to waging scientific war and the atomic

Capt. Hambling said he wanted to become a medical missionary.

The findings of the Court had not been made known as we went to press. (A sequel to this episode will appear Peace News shortly.)

To the Editor

⁷ Rebuilding

On March 23, 1945, you published a letter from me suggesting the formation of a CO building group. An Association was formed and at last we have secured a certificate of registration as builders. One year after that exploratory letter, our first advert appeared in your columns (PN, Mar. 22).

We are full of hope and enthusiasm. We aim to make our work a source of satisfaction to our customers and ourselves.

We feel that we have a wonderful opportunity.

STANLEY E. C. PAGE.

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FEDERAL UNION MEETING

WORLD ORDER AND HUMAN VALUES

CONWAY HALL, Red Lion Sq., W.C.1 Wednesday, April 17, at 7 p.m. Speakers: VICTOR GOLLANCZ CMDR. STEPHEN KING-HALL

Chairman: F/LT. HAIRE, M.P. Admission 1s. at doors or from: FEDERAL UNION, 20 Buckingham St. W.C.2

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